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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

As the war proceeds and total mobilization becomes more nearly achieved, the problems of education which the war is producing become more apparent. It is not difficult to foresee a day in the future when the shooting stops and many towns will be literally "ghost towns" with a goodly sized population forced to move away into a new section of the country to begin life over again. It is obvious that there will be in the neighborhood of 9,000,000 young men coming home, who will be expected to reorient themselves anew to the world of peace. It should be remembered in this regard, also, that the longer the war lasts the greater will be the proportion of young men who finished high school at 18 and went into the army, and consequently know no trade save those related to the art of destruction.

What is not so apparent is the vast trek from the farms to the city which has been stepped up during this war, but which is likely to continue when the war is over. The Rust cotton picker alone will replace from two to six million people in southern agriculture. For the most part these people will be uneducated, if not illiterate, both white and Negro. The tractor is rapidly making a big business enterprise of the farm. Each tractor replaces from one to five families, and the saturation point to which tractors can be used is nowhere in sight.

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This all means that the days of the migrant family will be with us again. The nomadic trek from place to place, seeking seasonal employment, or whatever they can get to do, will be repeated again unless extreme care is used. It will mean that children will undergo the ravages of diseases, delinquency, and lack of educational opportunity. It will mean that cities will attempt to use the old patterns of "sending them back where they came from," unless we develop more intelligence in handling the problem than is seen on the horizon at the present time. It is going to mean that cities will try to send a lot of these war workers, whom they have exploited during the emergency, back to their former localities in an effort to prevent them from becoming a drain upon the municipality.

It seems to all add up to the fact that the problems will transcend the boundaries of states or municipalities. It will be a national problem and will have to be handled with national measures. Furthermore, it will have to be handled with a more intelligent approach than the segmental approaches currently being made within the Federal Government itself. The problems of health cannot be divorced from the problems of economic income any more than either can be divorced from the problems of education. There is at present some vague groping toward a federal department with a cabinet post, a department of human welfare, which would combine several of the agencies that are now scattered through several departments, and make an integrated approach to the whole problem. This seems to us worth studying, for certainly aid of any sort should be used as a means to education, and education is an aspect of total welfare.

DAN W. DODSON

RELOCATING THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS— A PROGRESS REPORT

Cecil Morgan

Since this article was prepared, in early December, the Exclusion Order has been rescinded by the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command.

In the past three years there has been much discussion of Japanese-Americans and their problems. Numerous articles on the subject have appeared in various publications; it has been the topic of scores of editorials and radio discussions. Despite all this discussion, however, the agency responsible for the care of the Japanese-American group, the War Relocation Authority, remains one of the least understood of all the Federal wartime agencies. The first purpose of this article is to tell something of the work of this agency. The second purpose of the article is to discuss briefly the effect that the solution of the Japanese-American problem must have upon American thinking.

The War Relocation Authority was established in March 1942, by executive order of the President. Its mission was to care for the Japanese-Americans who have been excluded from the Western Defense Command Zone, as well as for a few German-American and Italian-American excludees from both the Western Defense Command and the Eastern Defense Command Zones. Since the German-Americans and Italian-Americans were excluded only individually, while the Japanese-American exclusion order involved all persons of Japanese ancestry resident in the Western Defense Command Zone, the agency's work has been almost entirely with the latter group.

To get a statistical background on the problem, there are about 127,000 persons of Japanese descent or Japanese nationality in the United States. Prior to the declaration of war, about 89 per cent, or

approximately 112,000, of these people lived in the three Pacific coast States. About 70 per cent of the total are American citizens by birth while the remaining 30 per cent were born in Japan and are therefore unable to acquire American citizenship.¹

The immigrants among the Japanese-Americans had come to the United States for the same reasons that other immigrants have come. Some, both Christians and Buddhists, had come in search of religious freedom. Some had come as political refugees; even as early as 1900, political liberalism in Japan had begun to be unpopular in many localities. Some had come for economic reasons—because they believed America offered greater opportunity for the common man than did Japan. In short, the Japanese immigrants came to the United States for the same reasons that your ancestors and mine came: because they did not like some condition in the old country and thought they could better themselves in the new country. The peak of Japanese immigration came between 1900 and 1910. By 1920 the immigration stream had dropped to a trickle and in 1924 it ceased entirely, with the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act.

It might be mentioned here that most of the Japanese immigrants came from the small landowner and small farm operator classes. However, many of them worked as laborers for a few years after their arrival in the United States. In general they immigrated as single young men; later, after they had become established financially, they either returned to Japan to be married or contracted marriages by the so-called "picture bride" method. The average age of the Japanese aliens in the United States, both men and women, is now fifty-nine. Since most of the first generation group were married comparatively late in life, there is an abnormal gap between the average age of the first generation group and that of the second generation, or Nisei, group.

The history of the Japanese immigrants in the United States has

¹ A few Japanese-American aliens, who served in the United States Army during World War I, have been granted American citizenship by special act of Congress.

followed the pattern common to all recent immigrant groups. They were exploited by the railroads and big landowners at first, used as strikebreakers, etc. During this period they incurred the enmity of longer established immigrant groups and of organized labor, even as the Irish, the Hungarians, and the Italians had aroused that enmity in their turns.

Then they entered the second stage of their Americanization. Without any formal organization, they tried to get their employers to pay them the same wages that other workers received for the same work. At this stage in the Americanization process, no immigrant group is favorably regarded by the employers who have previously exploited them; the Japanese were no exception to the rule. Having thus incurred the enmity of both labor and capital, the Japanese-American immigrants were forced to earn their livelihood by developing submarginal tracts of land, taking the jobs that nobody else would have, etc. At this stage in their Americanization, each new immigrant group has been forced to live to itself. This is what might be called the "ghetto stage." Many of the Japanese immigrants were still in this stage at the time of the outbreak of war. Their children, however, have progressed beyond the "ghetto stage." They have become as thoroughly Americanized through their public-school work, contacts with church groups, etc., as it is possible for any second generation group to be. This was roughly the stage prevailing at the outbreak of the war. With various social and economic groups opposing them, the Japanese problem in California had assumed a political importance entirely unjustified by the number of people involved. When we consider that the entire Japanese-American population in the United States would, if gathered in one spot, constitute only a third of the population of such a small city as Denver, we can see that the Japanese problem in the United States has been grossly exaggerated.

In February 1942, the commanding general of the Western Defense Command Zone ordered the evacuation of all persons of Jap-

anese nationality or Japanese ancestry from the Western Defense Command Zone. During the month that followed, this evacuation was on a voluntary basis and during that time some 10,000 evacuees did seek other homes inland. However, that voluntary evacuation movement quickly produced complications in the inland communities. Only one governor of any western State, Governor Carr of Colorado, went on record as being in any way disposed to welcome the evacuees. The native Japanese people in the regions to which the evacuees went did not welcome the newcomers. Their own position in the community had been rendered extremely insecure by the Pearl Harbor outrage. They did not, therefore, welcome the migration of strange persons of Japanese ancestry into their home communities. It was to avoid the complications brought on by the voluntary evacuation as well as to implement the order of the commanding general that the War Relocation Authority was established in March 1942.

The first task of the new agency was to supervise the establishment of the evacuees in ten relocation centers. In connection with this evacuation, I want again to call attention to two significant facts: first, the evacuee group is composed of people over two thirds of whom are American citizens by birth; second, these people are not enemy agents or saboteurs. Not one single act of sabotage has ever been responsibly charged against any person now living in a relocation center. At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, we heard a great many stories of the acts of sabotage committed in the Hawaiian Islands and on the west coast by Japanese residents. Neither the F.B.I. nor the Truman Committee could find any concrete evidence to back up these rumors. These facts are important because many people have not made the distinction in their thinking between the Japanese whom we are fighting in the Pacific and our own loyal Japanese-American group.

In regard to some of the charges that have recently been leveled at the War Relocation Authority's management of the centers, you

have perhaps heard a great many stories about the luxurious facilities provided by the Government for the Japanese in the centers. I spent several days in one of the centers, and, if the Government provides luxurious facilities of any description, I failed to see any evidence of them. The quarters provided are the same type quarters found in any temporary army camp: one-story barrack buildings, twenty feet wide and one hundred feet long. These buildings are commonly divided into four-family compartments each measuring twenty by twenty-four feet. The family of five is taken as the standard unit, and each such family is provided with one single twenty by twenty-four foot room. The barracks are of tar paper (sand blast) construction lined on the inside with Celotex. The floors are of wood or of brick, set in sand. In the middle of each family room is a wood- or coal-burning stove. Army cots and blankets are provided by the Government. If any additional furnishing is wanted it must be done by the evacuee himself at his own expense. Evacuees are fed in a central mess hall, there being one mess hall to each block of barracks. The food provided can cost a maximum of 45 cents per day per person, as compared with the 60 cents per day allowance made by the army. In actual fact, food expenditures in no camp exceed 42 cents per person per day and it ranges from that figure down to 33 cents per day. The luxury story just does not hold together. The Government does provide hospital facilities and medical services. Provision is also made for each adult person to earn a small amount of spending money. Where the evacuee works regularly, putting in a forty-four hour week, he is given an allowance of \$12 to \$19 per month for his work. If he does not work he gets nothing.

Once the evacuees were established in their temporary homes, the War Relocation Authority undertook two major tasks in addition to the task of operating the centers. The first of these was a segregation program designed to separate those persons of doubtful loyalty from those whose records are entirely clear. This segregation program has been completed for some months. The second of the tasks

mentioned above is that of returning the loyal members of the group to ordinary American life. For this purpose, a field staff of approximately fifty area and district officers is maintained. The function of the field officers is to discover localities outside the evacuated area where the loyal Japanese-Americans can live and work with profit to themselves, their adopted communities, and the country at large. So far (up to December 1944), some 32,000 evacuees have been relocated in various civilian pursuits. Another 13,000 young men and women of Japanese ancestry are now serving in the armed forces of the United States. Some 58,000 persons are still living in the eight relocation centers still in operation. By far the greater portion of the people already relocated are those with urban skills and urban backgrounds. Most of the people still in the relocation centers are those with rural backgrounds. The failure of these farm people to relocate as rapidly as those with urban backgrounds may be explained in part by calling it the natural conservatism of farm people. A part of the explanation lies in the difficulty of obtaining farm machinery and equipment with which to re-enter that vocation. At least a part of the explanation lies in the fact that the Japanese-American farmers were engaged in a highly specialized type of farming in their Pacific Coast homes and that they have had little experience in the more generalized farming practised over most of the country. The immediate problem confronting the War Relocation Authority, especially the field staff, is that of moving this group of farmers back to the land.

This re-employment program can succeed only if the public is aware of its purpose and if the public gives its support to the program. The educational groups in the country have the responsibility of helping to get these facts to the public and of winning the public's support for this Government program. If we can, by our united efforts, work ourselves out of the unenviable position in which we have been placed by this evacuation, we shall be in a much more favorable spot both during the war and for the peace that follows.

Our treatment of the Japanese-American minority has provided the Japanese Government with some valuable propaganda material. It has enabled the Japanese to tell the Chinese and the Hindus that this is not a war for democracy, but rather a racial war. That propaganda has already weakened both the Chinese and the Hindu war effort. It will be a little embarrassing for us to go to the peace conference demanding equal rights for all peoples unless we can in the meantime come much closer to a permanent solution of our own minority problems than we have yet reached.

So far, I have been talking about a wartime problem, the treatment received by one racial group in time of war. Implicit in this is the much greater problem of the treatment of all minority groups in both peace and war. And each of us is a member of some minority group. America is made up of minority groups. If you are a Republican you are a member of a minority group—for the moment, at least—and if you are a Democrat you are a member of what may be a minority group two years hence; if you are a Catholic you are one of a minority; if you are a Baptist or a Methodist or a Presbyterian, or what have you, you are still a member of a minority group. If we permit ourselves to be stampeded by wartime pressures today into singling out one minority group for unfair and un-American treatment, what is there to prevent our singling out another group tomorrow for similar treatment? Today it is the Japanese, the Negroes, the Mexicans, the Jews, and so on, in one or another part of the country; tomorrow it could just as well be the Irish, or the Danes, or the Catholics, or the Methodists, or the Democrats. The moment we allow ourselves to commit one act of racial prejudice, we open the way for the oppression of any and all minorities; we strike down one of the pillars of Americanism. The very foundation stone of fascism is the doctrine of the master race. If we defeat the fascist nations upon the field of battle and succumb to their philosophies, we shall have lost this war. And we shall have lost the peace which is to come. The world has shrunk so much

within the past generation that no people can live peaceably with its neighbors believing itself to be the master race. That applies to our domestic affairs as well as to our foreign relations.

The very essence of Americanism is the ideal of tolerance proclaimed by Christ, that doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The doctrine of racial bigotry has already made dangerous inroads upon American thinking; unless each of us does his part in counterattacking it, this bigotry will wreck the thing we call the American way of life. Each of us has his part to play in this struggle. To us is given the task of combating this dangerous un-American philosophy; ours is the privilege of defending in our communities those ideals of Americanism for which we are all fighting.

COLLEGE COUNSELING FOR THE WAR VETERAN

J. Richard Toven

Soldiers, sailors, and marines who are being returned to civilian life are keenly alive to the advantages of further education and training. They have seen the opportunities that are open for college-trained men and women to advance to positions of responsibility in the armed forces. In fact, according to the report of the American Council on Education, 70 per cent of the graduates of officer candidate school came from the ranks of the college trained, although less than 12 per cent of those in the armed forces have attended college.

One of the most effective methods of helping these veterans to adjust to civilian life is to provide them with an educational program that is especially designed to meet their needs. Federal and State funds are now available for this purpose. Also appropriate Federal agencies are providing adequate care for the physically and mentally handicapped veterans. Therefore, those for whom the colleges will have to make provision will be, for the most part, fit to participate in normal college life and activities. They will, however, look to the colleges to help them to adjust themselves to civilian life and to find the means of earning a satisfactory living. For that reason their educational programs must be of a more obviously practical nature than would be the case under ordinary conditions. Of course this does not necessarily mean that the liberal arts should be omitted. As a matter of fact, surprisingly large numbers of returning men and women are asking that such courses be made an integral part of their educational programs, because they are convinced that cultural courses are valuable to them.

The college counseling program has to be designed to meet the special practical needs of the veteran. All the known facilities for counseling and guiding that can serve this practical end must be available whenever and wherever necessary. The task of the coun-

selor in carrying out such a program is to develop the aptitudes and abilities of the veteran so that he can be assured of a reasonable measure of success in his chosen vocation or profession in the shortest possible time.

At the outset, the counselor must help the veteran to formulate and clarify his vocational and educational objectives. In doing so, he will have to remember that veterans are mature beyond their years as a result of their war experience and that they must therefore be treated as adults and not as returning school boys. This maturity of the veterans poses a special problem for institutions of higher education, for they will have to make provision not only for veterans of college level but also for those of high-school level who require further secondary education but who are too mature to fit into the high schools.

According to the estimates of Government authorities, more than 50,000 men and women are being discharged each month from the armed services. This number will increase as the war progresses. A great number of these veterans will want to continue their college work, and therefore trained personnel must be available in our educational institutions to help them readjust themselves to academic life.

The counselor chosen for this work must be trained in the basic principles of guidance. He must be able to cope with the special problems that each veteran is going to present, and he must be able to see problems from various points of view. He must be so sure of the value of his work that he inspires confidence in the veterans who consult him. As part of his background, he ought to be conversant with educational and vocational opportunities and trends. Above all, he should have experience, foresight, wisdom, and integrity.

No two counselors ever employ exactly the same techniques, but the experienced counselor will avail himself of those techniques that he has found to be the most effective. However, no matter what technique is used, the counselor will find that the facts and evidence

he has to consider in each case are essentially the same. He must take into account the war experience, vocational choices, achievement in high-school and college, results of the tests administered in the armed forces, personality, certain attitudes and interests, marital status, economic status, and the data available from outside agencies. The demands of the interview will determine in each case the order of importance of these data. Also the counselor will stress the data which are of greatest significance in the case under consideration.

The War Experience

Since his war experience constitutes the veteran's immediate background, the counselor will naturally find out all he can about it as soon as possible. With tactful questioning, he will gain much helpful information, especially if the veteran is willing to talk about his war experiences and about their impact on his ideas of life. If his outlook on life is basically sound, the counselor can go on to the next step in the interview. If, on the other hand, his attitude betrays bitterness and resentment, the counselor must begin his work by building up a well-balanced philosophy of life.

Much valuable information can be gained from the veteran's discharge certificate and service record. The state of his health is indicated by the type of discharge he has been given. It is important for the counselor to know the physical condition of the veteran, for this will determine to some extent the kind of education or retraining the discharged service man or woman should be encouraged to undertake. The service record indicates the nature of the veteran's activities while a member of the armed forces. It lists any education he has been given in service schools or through the Armed Forces Institute. This education must be evaluated for credit toward admission to college or toward possible advanced credit, and it must bear considerable weight in any educational plan that he works out for the veteran.

Vocational and Professional Choices

Because the veteran who returns to college is primarily interested in education as a means of gaining a congenial livelihood and is interested to a lesser degree only in its cultural aspects, the traditional college curriculum will have to be modified for him. Unlike the ordinary student, he has visited other parts of the world and has developed clear-cut ideas as a result of discussing his plans with other men and of having plenty of time to "think things out" for himself. He is greatly attached to these ideas, which are strengthened in his mind because he has seen for himself the advantages that accrue from good "practical" training.

In planning his postwar education, the veteran wants to bridge the gap from war to peace and wants to be assured that he can earn a satisfactory living as a result of his additional educational experience. All too often he brings in to his counselor vocational and professional objectives that cannot be achieved because they do not conform to his aptitudes and to circumstances. In helping him to come to common-sense decisions in these matters, the counselor must examine and evaluate his whole record. It may be necessary to give him aptitude and achievement tests in order to convince him that he has not made a suitable choice of a vocation. Then the counselor has to encourage him to think in terms of a vocation in which he has a reasonable chance of succeeding. If, on the other hand, the veteran presents a practical and attainable choice of vocation, it is possible for the counselor to do a superior job of guidance because he can take full advantage of the veteran's cooperation in working out a sound retraining program.

High-School and College Achievement

Veterans who seek admission to college fall into three classes: those who have not completed the high-school course; those who

have graduated from high school; and those who have one term or more of college work to their credit.

Those who have not completed their high-school courses present a special problem, especially if the course of retraining they wish to take demands high-school graduation as a prerequisite. Because they are older than ordinary high-school students and particularly because they are too mature to fit into the adolescent atmosphere of the high schools, they will have to be given the preliminary training they need in the institutions in which they are to get their higher education and training. High-school graduates present few difficulties in gaining admission to colleges. However, some of them will lack certain required units or will not meet the high-school pattern demanded. In such cases, the colleges should be willing to modify their admission requirements or should permit veterans to make up deficiencies while pursuing their courses. College students, who have been discharged from the armed services and who wish to return to continue their courses, should not present any special problems in orientation and adjustment. Their records will show that they are capable of college work.

In dealing with these problems, the counselor must place adequate emphasis on school or college achievement if he is to aid the veteran aright in the choice of a career. High achievement indicates that the veteran can take advantage of training and of further education at college level. Low scholastic achievement indicates to the counselor that the veteran should not choose careers that involve "book learning." However, these are no more than general indications, and veterans will provide many exceptions to any general rule. The theory of individual differences is an important guide in effective counseling; consequently, exceptional cases can be readily recognized and so can be dealt with effectively. The counseling of these three groups of veterans must be done carefully and sensibly if ex-service men and women are to make the most of their educational opportunities. When interviewing them, the counselor must direct

them in such a way that they will select careers that will offer them a reasonably full measure of success.

Tests Administered in the Armed Forces

Men and women in the armed forces are given so many intelligence, aptitude, and personality tests that veterans tend to be test minded. They or their comrades have been assigned to special duties or have been transferred to other localities on the basis of these tests and of interviews that followed the testing. Hence, they know from their own experience that such tests can be highly valuable. Consequently, when they return to educational institutions, they usually expect to be tested and examined anew. They want to be told which curricula they should take and what their chances are of success in further education. They are particularly interested in finding out what vocations and professions will give promise of greatest success for them when their individual aptitudes and abilities, together with postwar employment opportunities, are taken into consideration. For these reasons, colleges and other institutions of higher education must be prepared to administer all sorts of tests which the veterans may request, or to which they may look for information of importance to them in choosing vocations or professions.

The counselor, therefore, must be sufficiently familiar with the field of educational testing to take advantage of the data furnished by the armed forces tests. He must also be prepared to outline a series of tests for each veteran and to interpret the results. The data provided by all these tests should constitute a valuable body of evidence for the counselor in his task of advising the veteran as to his educational program.

Personality

Personality plays an important part in the selection of a vocation or profession for the veteran. Objective tests are not usually effective

in measuring personality traits, but nonetheless, personality is a most important factor in determining which vocation the veteran should select. His war experience has crystallized many of his personality traits, and no further development of them can be expected. In each case, the counselor must decide whether this abnormal maturity will prove advantageous or detrimental to the veteran in the calling he has selected. The counselor's own experience will show him the importance of finding a career that is in harmony with one's personality. At the same time, he should make use of personality tests so he can get a true and complete picture of the individual he is advising.

Attitudes and Interests

The veteran's mental attitude toward life differs strikingly from that of the man or woman entering the service. He has had to put aside his plans for life, and in the armed forces he has had to learn to follow orders without question. The result of this has been that frequently he has become somewhat categorical in his decisions. Also, while he has been in service, there have been changes of a fundamental nature in the social and economic fabric which have rendered his pristine ambitions unattainable. Factors such as these have caused him to change his aims, but at the same time they may have left him with a feeling of bitterness and discontent.

It is, of course, the task of the counselor to examine and evaluate the veteran's attitude toward these problems he must face. If that attitude should be found unsatisfactory in any way, the counselor must set to work to change it. If he finds that the veteran's interests are obscure, he must help to clarify them so they can be taken into account in the formulation of his educational and vocational objectives.

Marital Status

Marital responsibilities frequently complicate the plans for retraining the veteran. If he is single, the problem is simple. If, on the

other hand, he is married, financial considerations enter into the picture. In addition, the attitude of his wife must be taken into account. The counselor will have to assist him in all sorts of problems that are sure to arise from the fact that he is a married man. The satisfactory solution of these problems is of the utmost importance, and frequently the sanity of the counselor's advice will make all the difference between success and failure of the plans for the education and retraining of the veteran.

The Economic Problem

Adequate financial assistance for him to re-establish himself in civilian life is of first importance to the veteran. It is possible that legislation already in effect will meet this problem satisfactorily. Moreover, special measures have been taken to care for veterans who have well-defined physical disabilities. Also, in some States, the legislative authorities are contemplating the organization of free institutes to meet the educational and vocational needs of the veterans. In any case, it looks as if the financial problems of the veteran will be sufficiently met.

The chief problem left for the counselor to face is that of working out a plan whereby the veteran with dependents can take advantage of the college educational program in the limited time at his disposal before he once more becomes the breadwinner for his family. The counselor must be able to assist in drawing up workable personal budgets, and he may even have to aid in securing part-time employment for the veteran so that he can carry out the educational program planned for him.

Outside Data Available

Federal, State, semigovernmental, and private agencies exist whose services and facilities are available to the veteran. Their services are mostly of a specialized nature, but in most cases they will prove of inestimable value to the counselor in his work with the

veteran who wishes to gain further education and training. It is, however, vital for the counselor to have access to the army and navy records so he can be conversant with the specific information they contain. The Veterans Administration has organized an effective method for dealing with the physical and mental health problems that arise out of war service. It is expected that the counselor will also be able to call on the American Red Cross, the American Legion, the various State rehabilitation services, the Selective Service, the Army Emergency Relief, and other agencies for assistance in the counseling of ex-service men and women. Whatever the source, the counselor must be on the alert to take advantage of any information or assistance that will be of help to him in his work with the veteran.

In all this, it is clear that the sound principles of guidance which have proved effective in student personnel work have merely been re-emphasized and modified to meet a different kind of student personnel problem. The importance of the counselor in the vital work of advising the veteran is indicated by the very definition of counseling, which is to study the individual; to discover his aptitudes, abilities, and capacities; and to aid in the process of expanding and developing his talents harmoniously so that he can become a useful and happy member of society.

CHURCH SCHOOLS

Some Factors in the Relation Among Private, Public, and Parochial Schools

Stanley H. Chapman

The presence within his own community of three school systems—private, public, and parochial—has given many a private citizen, parent, taxpayer, and social scientist reason for speculation. No attempt will be made in this paper to review the voluminous literature, which is predominantly in the fields of education, religion, and popular writing. Neither will any attempt be made to go beyond a few selected factors in the relationship of the three school systems. Focused upon the church, or parochial school, the treatment will be primarily concerned with ecological analysis, following the leads provided by Davie, Kennedy, and Martin.¹ Special point will be given, for one community, to the observation by Scudder Mekeel that the precipitate of special aspects of our culture called education, which is entrusted for transmission to specific institutions, is not turned over in all societies to the same type of institutions.²

New Haven, Connecticut, was founded in 1638 by a party of 250 from Boston who hoped to establish a commonwealth based upon commerce and the Bible. The original settlers included a preponder-

¹ Professor Maurice R. Davie, in "The Pattern of Urban Growth," *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pages 133-162, has studied the characteristics of the New Haven community and has described homogeneous areas which have served as the basis of intensive ecological study of the city by himself and others.

Professor Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, in "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *The American Journal of Sociology* (January 1944), Vol. 49, pages 331-340, has reformulated and given concrete content to the phenomenon observed by others, that there is arising a triple American culture: Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant.

Professor R. R. Martin, in "The Church and Changing Ecological Dominance," *Sociology and Social Research* (January-February 1941), Vol. 25, pages 246-257, posits a functioning concept that deserves confirmatory study.

² "Education, Child-Training, and Culture," *The American Journal of Sociology* (May 1943), Vol. 48, page 676.

ance of skilled workmen and farmers with their families. They were led by the Rev. John Davenport, a dissenting priest of the Church of England, and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant who fancied the New Haven harbor and had visions of establishing a trading center. The chief men of the colonists were well-to-do merchants from London.³

In 1638 the single school in New Haven was kept that the boys of the colony might learn to read their Bibles, write English, and parse Latin. It is to be presumed that such eminently practical entrepreneurial settlers had some interest, however slight, in elementary arithmetic for the God-fearing keeping of accounts. Public instruction was not provided in elementary subjects for girls.⁴

Since the time of the first schoolmaster, education has become secularized. The first school was controlled in the same indirect way as the beliefs of church members: the teacher himself was held to account for his own orthodoxy before the church fathers. In 1650 the Hopkins Grammar School opened for boys, without regard to faith. Two years later, the original colony school closed its doors. In 1728 tuition at Hopkins was refused to all but children of Congregational or Presbyterian parents. Free public education dates from 1676, in compliance with a 1644 enactment of Connecticut (which colony State absorbed the hitherto independent colony of New Haven), that every township of fifty householders maintain a teacher for all children who might go to him for instruction in writing and reading.⁵

Today there are three classes of schools in the city: free, nonsectarian public schools; tuition-charging private schools generally

³E. L. Heermance, *The Connecticut Guide* (Hartford: Emergency Relief Commission, 1935), page 25; H. W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938), page 499; O. Shepard, *Connecticut, Past and Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), page 22.

⁴E. E. Atwater, *History of the City of New Haven to the Present Time* (New York: W. W. Munsell and Company, 1887), pages 147-148.

⁵*Ibid.*, pages 151, 164.

without religious coloring; and church or parochial schools, which are limited to Roman Catholics.⁶

At present, the dominant elementary and secondary system is public. It represents the success of the civil practice of government as opposed to the religious, the aristocratic, and the minority. It is dependent, in its present state, on the continued ascendancy of the civil point of view, which places citizenship upon a different plane from religion and social class. Any change in the relative advantage of state, social class, and church will disturb this adjustment.

The proportions of the three systems can be roughly judged by an examination of the tax-exempt real estate owned and utilized by each. In 1941 the Grand List (the property roll) of the City of New Haven based upon 1940 real-estate holdings totaled \$256,501,135, including \$139,850,499 of statutory exemptions of various types. All exempted school real estate totaled \$10,101,220. Exempted church buildings, by way of comparison, came to \$5,871,570; all exempted church-owned real estate, \$8,829,803.

The church holdings are but a small percentage (3.9 per cent) of the total property of the community, and even in the exempt category churches are not very prominent, ranking quite secondary to schools and other public property. Indeed, Yale University alone claims a tax exemption of more than \$68,000,000, or nearly eight times as much as all church property and nearly seven times as much as all the schools. Exemptions comparable to that enjoyed by church property were for schools, New Haven municipal services, cemeteries, and Yale University. The over-all picture of the exemptions is as follows:

⁶ Although the number and proportions had changed by the time the data of this study were obtained (1941-1943), there were, in 1939, 51 public schools, 10 private, and 10 parochial. New Haven Chamber of Commerce, *Economic and Industrial Survey, New Haven, Connecticut* (1939), pages 106-107.

Exemptions for schools:

Private	Hopkins Grammar School	\$ 382,400.00
Public	New Haven Public Schools	7,578,905.00
Parochial	Catholic	2,139,915.00
Total		\$10,101,220.00

Exemptions on City of New Haven facilities:

Fire Department	\$ 518,525.00
Police Department	269,075.00
Parks	13,352,990.00
Schools (as above)	7,578,905.00
Total	\$21,719,495.00
Cemeteries	930,265.00
The Housing Authority of the City of New Haven	2,301,010.00
Yale University	68,660,905.00
All church-owned tax-exempt real estate	8,829,803.00

Educational property thus stands in descending order: public, parochial, private.

In terms of financial support, this means that in 1942 the community as a whole contributed to the support, through real-estate taxes, of one private school (out of the ten), all public schools, and all fifteen parochial schools. The public schools alone received full financial support from tax funds; the others were merely relieved of their tax burden. The enrolled pupil beneficiaries of such indirectly subsidized education in private, public, and parochial schools at the beginning of the academic year 1941-1942 numbered, respectively, 143, 25,084, and 4,271, making a public tax-exemption subsidy of roughly \$2,674 per pupil in private school, \$302 in public, and \$501 in parochial. The figure per Hopkins Grammar School pupil appears superficially to be disproportionately high. It can, however, be written off against the historical implications of the

school and the educational prestige entailed by its presence in the city.

Ecological analysis of the church-school property is significant. The basis of this analysis will be the ecological areas (twenty-five in number) described by Professor Davie, which have come in the literature of New Haven study to be known as Davie Districts (here called merely Districts), and which are further classifiable into seven District Types.⁸

- A. Upper class residential
- B. Upper middle-class residential
- C. Lower middle-class residential
- D. Lower class residential
- E. Business
- F. Industrial
- G. Yale University

The first four District Types have scaled relationship; the last three are merely descriptive.

In applying this analytical material, it will be well to bear in mind the insistence of Elin Anderson that the significant church distinctions are between Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant. She has written: "Only the three major divisions into Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish still retain a philosophical justification. The original issues which determined men to select one sect or another have been more or less replaced by social or economic distinctions."⁹ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy has particularized this observation in her summary statement:

The increasing intermarriage in New Haven is not general and indiscriminate but is channeled by religious barriers; and groups with the same

⁸A six-category classification is used by G. E. Evans, "Social and Geographical Distribution of Dispensary Cases of Rheumatic Fever in New Haven," *Rheumatic Fever in New Haven* (New Haven: Science Press, 1941), pages 93-108. A four-category classification is used by M. R. Davie and R. J. Reeves in "Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology*, January 1939, Vol. 44, pages 504-517.

⁹E. L. Anderson, *We Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), page 78.

religions tend to intermarry. Thus, Irish, Italians, and Poles (Catholic) intermarry mostly among themselves, and British-Americans, Germans, and Scandinavians (Protestant) do likewise, while Jews seldom marry Gentiles.¹⁰

New Haven's 112 churches are made up of 13 Jewish, 24 Catholic, 69 Protestant, and 6 other churches (a church group that has no significance for us here and may be considered as roughly equivalent to Protestant). Of the Catholic churches active in 1942, the first was founded in 1848, the newest in 1938. The accompanying table gives their district and District Type distribution, the value of tax-exempted school real estate and of church property. Sixteen churches own school property. The Catholics show a more varied, more consistent, and fuller inventory of real estate than any other church group. Every church own its quarters. Of the five non-Roman Catholic churches,¹¹ only one owns school property listed separately from church property. The discrepancy between Roman and non-Roman Catholic holdings, generally, and schools, specifically, reflects the difference in length of residence and economic success; this is true of both denomination and constituency.

The significance of land use and land value lies in the outstanding, unique, Catholic interest in schools. The table lists only the school real estate proper, omitting the convents that house the teaching nuns and fathers, reserve land intended for future educational purposes, and properties whose educational use does not have an equivalent in the municipal public educational system. The \$920,735 of exempted operating school property, roughly 42 per cent of the \$2,182,825 in churches, has an interesting distribution: 1 per cent in district type A, 6 per cent in B, 69 per cent in C, 20 per cent in D, and 4 per cent in G. Remembering that there is one school in district type C that does not appear on the grand list in such a way as to enter the above analysis, it is clear that the concentration of Catholic

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, page 339.

¹¹ The Catholic Church Group in New Haven is taken to comprise the Greek Eastern Orthodox, Russian Eastern Orthodox, Syrian Eastern Orthodox, Uniate Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic.

**TAX-EXEMPT CHURCH AND SCHOOL REAL ESTATE OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH GROUP, BY DISTRICT AND DISTRICT TYPE**

District	District Type	Number of Churches	Church Property Number of Churches Valuation	School Property Number of Churches Valuation	Per cent
I	A	-	-	-	
II	B	2	2 \$ 208,145.00	1 \$ 46,305.00	
III	C	1	1 104,940.00	1 159,260.00	
IV	D	4	4 289,990.00	3 156,710.00	
V	D	-	-	-	
VI	D	2	2 110,420.00	1 38,565.00	
VII	C	1	1 115,805.00	1 80,000.00	
VIII	C	-	-	-	
IX	C	-	-	-	
X	B	1	1 7,725.00	-	
XI	C	1	1 171,550.00	1 48,250.00	
XII	C	4	4 310,780.00	2* 224,860.00	
XIII	D	-	-	-	
XIV	B	3	3 162,355.00	1 4,935.00	
XV	C	1	1 12,575.00	-	
XVI	B	1	1 216,200.00	-	
XVII	A	1	1 122,920.00	1 7,550.00	
XVIII	B	-	-	-	
XIX	C	-	-	-	
XX	C	-	-	-	
XXI	C	1	1 92,505.00	1 120,000.00	
XXII	B	-	-	-	
XXIII	E	-	-	-	
XXIV	F	-	-	-	
XXV	G	1	1 256,915.00	1 34,300.00	
Total		24	\$2,182,825.00	14* \$920,735.00	

District Type Summary

A	1	1	\$ 122,920.00	1	\$ 7,550.00	01
B	7	7	594,425.00	2	51,240.00	06
C	9	9	808,155.00	6*	632,370.00	69
D	6	6	400,410.00	4	195,275.00	20
E	-	-	-	-	-	
F	-	-	-	-	-	
G	1	1	256,915.00	1	34,300.00	04
Total		24	\$2,182,825.00	14*	\$920,735.00	100

* Only fifteen parochial schools are included here of the sixteen appearing on the grand list, for the sixteenth is listed without separation from the church property. It is in District XII, District Type C.

Group school investment is in the lower middle-class residential area, that the district types display a relative concentration downward from C rather than upward.

The particular significance of this residential class distribution under discussion here is that it draws clearly discernible social and economic lines in regard to the investment in the Catholic children in New Haven. Compared with the distribution of investment in purely church property, it is particularly interesting, for that property also has its greatest concentration in type C, but has a relative concentration upward, rather than downward. In the cases of both school and church property, district A has the slightest representation. To complete this comparison a term analysis of the attendance by district and district type at both public and parochial schools would be necessary.

The expense of the parochial-school system, upon which figures are not available, may be assumed to be proportionately even greater than the parochial-public tax exemption of \$501, \$302 per enrolled pupil, for the system is relatively small and enjoys fewer of the economies available to large-scale educational enterprise.

In view of the table breakdown of churches and church schools, one is justified in positing that parochial schools follow Catholic churches, which in turn follow Catholic population. Martin¹² has put it thus: "The church is of little consequence in determining the community spatial pattern." He also offers three indices of dominance that could profitably be examined by extended collection of data and further analysis.

The concept of church group (Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant) takes on meaning, after even so superficial a review of parochial schools, and fits into the pattern described by one of the country's leading lay apologists for the Roman Catholic Church.¹³ Dr. Schuster

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

¹³ George N. Schuster, "Panorama of the Catholic Mood," *Common Ground*, Summer 1941, Vol. 1, pages 60, 61.

describes "the psychical cloister inside which the individual Catholic perforce dwells . . . hedged round by sacrament and ceremonial, custom and command." He describes the normal cleavage between the Catholic and his fellow citizen as "likely to be most marked when social or ethical problems are under discussion." This he explains by saying that "in each case the reasoning is based upon philosophical or religious assumptions that those reared in other creeds often do not comprehend."

This separatist tendency is evident in the initial 1941-1942 enrollment of public and parochial schools (respectively 25,084 and 4,271). It may be termed religious minority self-consciousness, reflecting the national minority history of the Catholic Church group in New Haven. The Irish brought Catholicism to the city and have, by becoming Americanized and retaining their faith, given it a native standing, in the same way that British colonists brought their Congregationalism, Episcopalianism, and other Protestant group denominationalism. Catholicism is, however, relatively young. It is the faith of much of the newer strains of immigration: Italian, Polish, and other eastern European New Havenerers who are non-Roman Catholics. As Schuster hazards and Kennedy proves, the Roman Catholic Irish are the marrying leaven and the faith pacesetters of the newer Americans.

Some of the implications of the separatist function of the parochial school are discussed by an Irish-American in a semi-autobiographical and realistic novel, the scene of which is a nearby Connecticut town:¹⁴

Mamma didn't want him to go to the parochial school anyhow because the kids there were too fresh. All the kids from down the river (the wrong side of the tracks) . . . went to parochial school, and the Italian kids from over the bridge. Some of the hunkies and Polacks went there too. They weren't dressed nice and they were always fighting and making noise.

¹⁴ Thomas Sugrue, *Such Is the Kingdom* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), page 100.

This is an intimate reflection of the ecological analysis that has gone before.

The same train of thought, although less well considered, is portrayed in Evy Flittman, in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, who wanted to be somebody, whose first step in the process of making her children somebodies was to transfer them from a Catholic to a Protestant Sunday school. "She had gotten it into her head that the Protestants were more refined than the Catholics."¹⁶ Ecological analysis of the distribution of population, of churches, and of schools in New Haven would give point to her impression, as well as to the threefold characterization of schools in Jackson, Wisconsin, where "There's no sorting out in fancy private schools, and plain public schools, and slum schools."¹⁷

This impressionistic assigning of Catholic schools to the lower class does not precisely square with ecological analysis, which finds one Catholic church in one of the two best residential districts in the city. It does, however, bear some relation to the concentration of parochial schools. Without qualification, it does represent in objective rephrasing a comment upon the social and economic implications of parochial schooling.

The classic role of the Catholic church and its schools in the process of Americanization is generally admitted by students of American race relations. As many have pointed out, the parochial school contribution is of a new type of Americanism, a kind not at all synonymous with the traditional New England concept of Anglo-British citizenship as separable and independent from church.¹⁸

A system of education is the most self-conscious institutionalization of a culture's efforts to perpetuate itself. As Scudder Mekeel has written:

¹⁶ Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), page 60.

¹⁷ Craig Rice, *Trial by Fury* (New York: Pocket Books Series, 1943), page 135.

¹⁸ André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), page 23.

Therefore, if we are to employ our educational system intelligently and successfully among peoples who differ culturally from ourselves, we shall have to keep several problems in mind. The first and most important is for us to be absolutely clear in our own minds as to what we as the majority group are trying to accomplish, and why we have certain special objectives.¹⁹

Since the Protestants and Jews do not maintain separate schools, it may be assumed that the public-school system represents their majority point of view. When, however, variant educational systems operate within the community, the question immediately arises: What culture is the whole community's? Today the answer for New Haven is that the public schools, since they are in the majority numerically as schools and in terms of enrollment and families, carry the prevailing whole community culture. If and when the present minority parochial system gains numerical and comparative ascendancy, it will be time to attempt a new answer. This would be doubly clear if the Irish and non-Irish church schools were compared, as representative of the Catholic majority and minority groups in the city.

If the relative majority-minority positions obtaining today were to be reversed, the answer would likewise bear corresponding revision. Population adjustment, church habits, and school practice will have to continue in adjustment before the school picture of the next generation or the next half century can be analyzed. It may be a picture in series with the history of New Haven education; it may be one to demonstrate that new cultural balance has arrived.

The one characteristic of the New Haven school complex of the future that can be foreseen with any certainty is difference from that of the present day. The polite private school, the politically, socially, economically democratic public system, and the parish school presided over by priests and nuns of Irish, Italian, and Polish background—these in their clear-cut and distinctive outlines can be counted upon to change.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, page 680.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LOOKS AT ITS CRITICS

George A. Retan

For the past several years there has been an increasing amount of criticism of the application of the findings of educational sociology to common school practice. Much of this has been called criticism of progressive education, criticism of the activity movement, and criticism of child-centered education. This criticism has frequently given the philosophy of John Dewey as the source or inspiration of the criticized practices. It may be true that many writers have quoted this philosophy in their justification of the practices they recommended. In the main, however, a more critical examination of the school practices and methods advocated would show that they are based much more on educational sociology than on pragmatic philosophy. Dewey's work at Chicago, which was the outgrowth of progressive work abroad, was primarily a sociological rather than a philosophical experiment. Thus, we may say that the criticism may be examined upon factual and sociological principles and that philosophical backgrounds may be ignored. Moreover, it is not understood as well as it should be that progressive school practice can be just as well associated with the idealistic philosophy as it can with the pragmatic philosophy.

One of the typical examples of such criticism is the Kappa Delta Pi lecture, *The Cult of Uncertainty*, by Dr. I. L. Kandel.¹ This lecture is a good example of the "ivory tower" criticism that quite enrages practical schoolmen. "Ivory tower" criticism may be defined in this case as criticism that exhibits lack of contact with the thing criticized. Men in university chairs too rarely are acquainted with common schools outside the cities; such schools contain the majority of the children in school. Dr. Kandel's book may be taken as typical

¹ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

since it exhibits most of the inconsistencies or fallacies inherent in such criticism.

One might write this article in a spirit of anger and ask some pertinent questions. The criticism is made that the product of our schools does not know American history as well as did the contemporaries of the critics. Have such critics examined, side by side, *Montgomery's Stories of American History* and the *Barnes American History*, out of which children studied in the 1890's, with a modern graded series put out by any of the reputable publishers, and such as the average school children of today study? Such an examination would, in itself, prove the claim foolish. A more pertinent question might be asked about the claim that schools today do not qualify youth to evaluate our republican institutions. One might ask about the teaching of a generation that sent youth out to organize political machines that do not allow teachers to give good citizenship training—only party training. But it is not the purpose of this article to indulge in such interesting, but perhaps unprofitable, inquiries. The endeavor will be made, rather, to argue from well-established facts and principles.

A major inconsistency in many of the attacks made upon schools today is that while some critics berate the lack of subject-matter command, shown by the graduates of the common schools, others, who are associated with these graduates in battle, give them extreme praise. If the criticism of the product is to have weight, then certainly it has no right to be considered apart from the praise. The question becomes not one of determining whether the praise or the criticism is just, but of determining the relative value of the qualities that are criticized and those that are praised. Along with the criticism from army officers of a lack of reading ability and mathematical ability on the part of the draftees, several accounts from correspondents and from articles written by officers in the field deal with the conduct of members of our army who are graduates of the same schools as those that are involved in the criticism. Forrest Davis, in

an article in *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 19, 1943, quotes General Kenney, at that time Commander of the Fifth Air Force in the southwest Pacific, as saying, "I have, sir, the best damn air force in the world." He says also, "The American is an adaptable cuss," and he goes on to illustrate specifically how boys from the Bronx, Boston, or an Indiana farm met the terrible fighting conditions of the jungles of the Solomons with initiative, courage, and, what is more important, intelligence. General Kenney ends his comment with this statement: "They make me proud of their generation." In a similar article, Captain Thomas L. Gatch of the battleship *South Dakota* gives credit for the showing of his battleship in that marvelous sea battle in which it won immortal glory to the boys who were just out of school, who had never expected to go to war, and who, eighteen months before, had had no sea experience. One could quote article after article similar in tenor paying tributes to the initiative, the courage, and the intelligence of American youth. It would be utter folly to say that the school deserved no praise for the training of these young men.

A second inconsistency in Dr. Kandel's argument, and in similar arguments, is an utter disregard of the growth of American schools in the past thirty years and of the change in the type of youth attending the schools. When the author was supervising principal of a small-town high school, shortly after World War I, it was common practice not to allow individuals who had difficulty in reading and arithmetic to go into high school. Only ten per cent of the possible college population of the country went to college. The high schools of Pennsylvania at that period succeeded in holding on the average less than seventy per cent of the eighth-grade pupils and graduated a very much smaller percentage.² The high school wanted to deal only with the cream of youth. Today, in the same section of Pennsylvania, the high schools have expanded many, many times. It is

²George A. Retan, *The Holding Power of High Schools in Pennsylvania*. New York University School of Education, unpublished master's thesis, 1933.

common practice for a town high school to hold over ninety per cent of the eighth-grade population and, even in rural districts, a comparatively large percentage of the eighth-grade graduates get into central high schools for a period of from two to four years. In Pennsylvania in 1941, the ninth grade was almost one hundred per cent of the eighth grade; almost fifty per cent of the number that entered school in 1929 graduated from high school in 1941. The school had to keep the child, previous to the outbreak of the war, until he was seventeen years of age regardless of his mental ability and his capacity to deal with abstract subject matter. In other words, it is absolutely unfair to apply the same standard of average accomplishment to a high school of 1920 and to a high school of 1940. The high-school principals in our better schools make an effort to adapt the curriculum and instruction to the capacities, interests, and abilities of these poorer pupils who cannot possibly deal with the abstract subject matter that is found in the college entrance course. Would the critics refuse such pupils the opportunities of our high schools and revert to the continental caste system of secondary education?

It is just as unfair to say, as Dr. Kandel does, that a high-school teacher of today has to teach too many subjects and is too poorly prepared. The certificate the writer of this article holds and on which he did high-school teaching "back when," is one which is still good in any high school in Pennsylvania and which entitles him to teach German, Latin, all sciences, all mathematics, all social studies, etc. To teach in any of these fields today requires from eighteen to thirty semester hours of college preparation in addition to a similar number of hours in education. As a matter of fact, standards are being increased so rapidly that there is real danger that the small high school will be forced to shut up because it cannot employ a sufficient number of properly certified teachers to meet the State requirements. It may be true that our high-school teachers are not sufficiently well trained. But, certainly the average high-school

teacher in the average high school in 1942 was very much better trained than was the same teacher back in the "golden age" of the critics. If not, then we had better scrap the schools in which many of the critics teach.

Again, it is unfair to lump the graduates of the common schools and high schools of all the States, to take the average, and then to blame all the schools for the poor showing of the average and the poorer pupils. In Georgia, in schools for whites, only thirty per cent of the second grade get into high school while in Pennsylvania the figure is ninety per cent. A fairer question would be: How do inductees of the schools of California and New York State compare with the inductees of Georgia and Alabama? The answer to this question would throw more light on the question of what education today is accomplishing.

The inconsistency in very much of the criticism of schools is based on the false assumption that there is at the present time a considerable number of radically progressive schools. It is very unfortunate that so little discrimination is made between the phrases, progressive schools and progressive methods. It is quite possible for a school to be really progressive in its methods and curriculum and yet be far removed from the progressive school which the "ivory tower" critic has in his mind when he writes of children doing what they want to do and studying what they want to study. As a matter of fact, the number of principals and superintendents who are progressive in their personal philosophy is much smaller than the average college professor imagines. At a recent meeting of some two hundred principals and superintendents, after a talk by Harry Elmer Barnes exposing some of the glaring faults in our social and economic organization, it was quite evident from the lack of applause, and from the comments heard, that the audience was exceedingly conservative. The principal, who has been reared in the old-type conservative school system, is not going to emerge overnight as a radical progressive, even though he may have taken grad-

uate courses at progressive universities. Many thousands of teachers throughout the country are employing in the schoolrooms more progressive methods and practices than their administrative officers would approve of. Many other thousands are prevented from doing this by less liberal administrators. But the percentage of schools that has abandoned the basal textbook, grade organization, and subject-matter class schedules is very, very small.

There is, however, a growing body of young teachers who have recently come from our State teachers colleges and universities, who have become convinced of the greater importance of right attitudes than of factual knowledge. The classic expression of the sociological point of view is found in *Knowledge for What* by Robert S. Lynd.⁸ Those in education, politics, and economics who wish to return to the "golden ages" of McKinley and Coolidge would do well to ponder his analysis of our culture. The old education, just as much as the pragmatism criticized by Kandel, did not know for what it was educating. The idealist at least has a goal in sight, and the educational sociologist has reason to believe that he has a method that is superior to the old individualistic competitive classroom procedure.

Our culture is a group product. Education in any real sense is a group process resulting from group pressures. When Margaret Mead applies the principles of education in a primitive tribe to classroom methods in modern schools, she is on much sounder psychological and sociological ground than are the exponents of the European tradition of a classical learning. The critics of education ignore the very obvious fact that in our present-day culture the school is the only agency that can take over many functions formerly left to the family and the neighborhood group. To do this, the school must, as far as possible, set up an environment in which the child meets social pressures directed toward the inculcation of social qualities that make for group progress.

⁸ Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939.

Democracy cannot be taught in a vacuum. It is not a result of drill and factual mastery. No one denies that the facts of American history are very important and that our heritage teaches a magnificent lesson to American youth. But if the child learns all about democracy and freedom but lives in an atmosphere of absolute authority with no opportunity to learn self-control or self-discipline, the lesson is wasted. If, in school, the child has no participation in group organization, administration, or control, what sort of citizen will he be? These observations are indeed platitudes, but, like many others, they are very slowly comprehended in their practical applications. Those of us in school who deal with junior-high-school councils solving problems of class disorder, with a fourth-grade class on the floor in the art room painting a mural inspired by their study of India culture, with a first grade inspired to language use by a trip to the park where they watched the squirrels, deal with children participating in group learning, in social process, in social pressures. Learning, with these children, involves more than mastery of the facts utilized. The pupils learn the facts; never doubt that. But they also learn, through participation in group activities, initiative, leadership, and intelligence. They are happy in their work; school is a pleasant place in which to spend the day.

The teacher in the elementary school and junior high school cannot understand all the sound and fury about philosophy of education. Those of us who are idealists go on serenely in our faith and use progressive practices and Gestalt psychology because they seem psychologically sound and socially good. We do not consider that we cannot teach the child to have faith in ultimate values just as well, or even better, than by obsolete methods. We believe that ideals are dynamic in conduct and strive in our socialized method to develop worthy concepts and inculcate such ideals as social experience has clarified. More we cannot do. Religious teaching is not permitted, even if desirable. To change methods to fit new conditions is not to worship change. The idealist does not deny change except in

ultimates. Perhaps even democracy is not an ultimate, even though the use of ultimate values would much improve our present representative democracy.

Finally, then, teachers in elementary classrooms are utilizing progressive methods because they give results and because they help to solve the difficulties inherent in a situation in which all children stay in school. These teachers give standard tests; they know that their children are working up to capacity. They deal with the emotional misfits coming from the modern American home and salvage a good percentage of the cases. They study their community problems and utilize them in building a curriculum, but they understand as fully as the critics that these contemporary problems have a background in the social heritage to which they must be related. They do not allow children to do what they wish when they wish, but provide a working environment in which children are happy and in which they share a normal group life.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE BROKEN HOME ON ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENT

Paul Torrance

Most of the studies that have been reported on the influence of the broken home appear in the field of juvenile delinquency. Here many other factors complicate the picture—poverty, ignorance, feeble-mindedness, poor general environment, and many others—and in them the real influence of the broken home has not been clear.

It is noticeable that few of the studies dealing with this problem have been concerned with normal school adolescents. Since it is generally recognized that delinquency flourishes during early adolescence and drops off near the end of adolescence, this seems to be an important phase of the entire problem. If boys and girls can be brought safely through this period, their chances of getting along all right seem to be good. The present study was undertaken with the purpose of investigating the incidence of problems among adolescent boys from broken homes, as compared with adolescent boys from normal homes, and with the hopes of finding some implications for their problems in secondary schools.

The population of the survey was 514 adolescent boys enrolled at Georgia Military College for the 1943-1944 term. As this is a combined high school and junior college, the age range covers the entire range of adolescent development. It is an essentially military school and its enrollment comes chiefly from the upper middle class. Here such factors as poverty, gross ignorance, feeble-mindedness, and the like have been eliminated and any differences may be more clearly charged to the broken home situation.

It was found that 144 or 40.5 per cent of 356 boarding students were from broken homes. In the total enrollment of 514 there were 182 or 35.5 per cent from broken homes. The type of broken home found most frequently, contrary to what is usually reported, was that broken by the separation or divorce of the parents with 45.6

per cent of the cases falling into this category. In 37.9 per cent of the cases one parent is dead and in 3.9 per cent of the cases both parents are dead. Fathers in the armed forces number 12.6 per cent, most of them being officers.

In order to compare the behavior and adjustment problems of these boys with boys from apparently normal homes, each of these 182 boys was paired with the first boy on the alphabetical roster with the same I.Q. and approximate chronological age with no duplications being made. Both groups were then analyzed on the basis of records, reports, and the many objective observations possible in such a school program. The problem areas considered were: retardation in school, acceleration beyond normal age, under achievement, overachievement, behavior problems, social problems, health problems. The average I.Q. of the two groups was 104.5 so for practical purposes this factor may be considered "normal."

When the broken-home group was studied alone, the area in which the highest occurrence of problems resulted was for retardation in school and emotional problems, with 96 indicated in each area. The emotional problems in only a very few cases were considered serious, but in each case there had been some observed or reported evidence of unusual emotional upset or tension or emotional instability. Frequency in other areas were: underachievement, 72; social problems, 67; behavior problems, 40; health problems, 15; dishonorable discharges, 15; and no problems, 23.

When this group is contrasted with the paired group, the greatest difference occurs in the area of serious maladjustment resulting in dismissal; there were 15 in this category and none from the paired group and only two others from the remainder of the total school population. The broken home group showed 2.4 times as many cases of retardation as the paired group, 1.8 times as many accelerated, 3 times as many cases of underachievement, 1.83 times as much overachievement, 2.1 times as many exhibited behavior problems, 1.3 times as many emotional problems, 1.3 times as many social

problems, and 3.75 times as many health problems. There were 2.5 times as many in the paired group for whom no problems were recorded as in the broken-home group. The average I.Q. was, of course, constant, but the average grade for the year showed a slight difference: 76.8 per cent for the broken-home group as compared with 79 per cent for the paired group.

The group from broken homes was then studied for the incidence of problems according to types of broken homes. This data indicates that in general the boy whose parents are separated or divorced is most likely to present the greatest number of problems, with the boy whose parents are both dead coming next. The greatest amount of unusual grade placement occurs where both parents are dead. The highest rate of retardation, however, prevails among boys whose parents are separated or divorced, and most of the overachievement where one or both parents are dead. Boys from homes broken by separation or divorce by far present more behavior problems and practically all of the dishonorable discharges come from this group. There are no very significant differences as to emotional problems but there seems to be a somewhat higher rate indicated for boys whose fathers are now in the armed forces, especially if he is overseas. High rates are also shown for the group whose parents are separated or divorced and whose parents are both dead. Those likely to be bothered by problems of social adjustment come from homes broken by separation or divorce or by the death of both parents.

The 182 boys from broken homes were divided into equal groups according to age. No very great differences were shown, but in every area considered there was consistently a greater frequency of problems observed for the younger group and practically all of the seriously maladjusted resulting in dismissal came from this group.

Both of the groups were analyzed for certain personality characteristics. In the broken home group 46 per cent were considered by observers to have exhibited evidences of lack of self-control; 76 per cent, self-centeredness; 56 per cent, exaggerated tendencies to

anger; 29 per cent, depression; and 31 per cent, lack of sensitivity to social approval. When compared with the normal home group it appears that the characteristic more likely to be shown by the broken-home boy is an exaggerated tendency to anger which is 4.1 times as great for this group as for the paired group. Three and eight-tenths times as many were adjudged as showing self-centeredness; 3.7 times as many, lack of sensitivity to social approval; 2.6 times as many, lack of self-control; and 2.3 times as many, depression.

The data were next studied for the coincidence of problems with the incidence of problems in each area. As might be expected, the boy whose behavior required his dismissal was adjudged to have problems in the greatest number of areas (in 5.9 of the 7 areas on the average). Those with health problems have problems on the average in 4.4 areas. Of probably greater significance is the large number of areas (4.2) in which problems in other areas are coincident with behavior problems. Since no one can fail to recognize these cases as they persistently break school regulations, this should prove helpful to counselors in identifying boys with other problems, probably underlying problems. It is also of almost equal importance to recognize that the boy who is underachieving is likely to have problems in other areas (3.5) and here again such cases can be objectively identified by the use of grades and aptitude test scores. In view of this fact, the prevailing custom in many schools of calling in students who fail is probably justified, provided, of course, the ensuing interview goes far enough to get at the real difficulty.

An analysis of individual cases seems to indicate several important principles in dealing with boys from broken homes. First, in many cases of abnormal behavior in boys from broken homes, the difficulty can be clearly traced to the broken home and its origin can usually be dated from the time of the "split." Recognition of this sometimes helps the boy achieve greater insight into his problems. Second, most cases where there is normal mentality and a normal body seem to readjust at least during the years of later adolescence

if not almost immediately upon transferral to the environment of a military school. Those least likely to succeed are those with extremely low I.Q.'s, extremely poor physical development, physical handicaps, psychopathic personalities, and those whose attendance at a military school is opposed by one of the parents, especially if there is any kind of joint control. The greatest unsettledness is likely to occur at the time of the "split" but is usually gradually relieved. In a very large number of cases the irritant that causes the maladjustment is removed and adjustment comes comparatively easily.

Since the indications are that boarding schools are now faced, as has probably always been true to a lesser extent, with the problem of the adolescent from the broken home, and since the public schools may expect a substantial increase in this type of problem, it is well that we face the problem and see what adjustments can be made.

First, let it be recognized that there are certain features inherent in the system of the military school and many other types of boarding schools that do facilitate the adjustment of the adolescent from the broken home. A list of such features would include: its fair and impartial discipline; its democratic nature and lack of discrimination; its 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week program; its history and tradition and emphasis upon a philosophy of life; its provision for regular hours of study, eating, sleeping, recreation, etc.; the large number of opportunities afforded for the development of responsibility and leadership; and the attainment of independence. The fact that it removes the boy from an undesirable environment to a vigorous wholesome one is also in its favor. Not all, but some of these features can be incorporated into the program of the public-school system. For example, there is no reason why public schools could not arrange to make available their playgrounds and gymnasiums after school hours, on week ends, and vacations. In many cases this would mean the substitution of these healthful, satisfying activities in the place of idleness and bad companions.

Many of the changes or improvements that this study seems to

indicate as essential have been recognized as important or needed, but in actual practice very little has been done about it so far as can be ascertained from reports from all over the country. One of the first of these that seems clearly to be indicated is an enlarged personnel program and a better trained personnel staff to assist these boys and girls to achieve insight into their problems and provide the counseling that would ordinarily be supplied by the home. Such a personnel program should give attention to mild emotional and social problems probably through psychotherapeutic counseling by competent counselors.

A second need clearly indicated is the need for better and more adequate programs of sex education, as it is not reasonable to expect the broken home to do a very good job in this area. This might go so far as the introduction of courses at the senior-high-school and junior-college level on education for marriage to include choosing a mate and the like, or at least to the extent of the integration of such material in regular school courses.

Other suggested improvements and changes would include: an extracurricular activity program that really works and which has a definite part in the whole school program; a program of retraining in the basic skills before the ill effects of the retardation can be overcome; a more complete social program; a more flexible curriculum; and more positive and direct cooperation with local young people's organized groups. All students would of course benefit from the development of these features but they seem to be more intensely needed by the adolescent from the broken home, as the home that is not broken is more likely to fulfill some of these needs.

There definitely seems to be a need for more research on this problem with the use of more objective measures of personality by some instrument such as the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*. Self-rating scales and teacher-rating scales might also shed light on the problem. There also needs to be made some longitudinal studies of adolescent development with follow-ups of later success for boys and girls from broken homes.

HUMAN FACTORS IN RECONVERSION

Forrest H. Kirkpatrick

The fears that are a part of unemployment and insecurity keep reminding us of human factors that are a part of reconversion and demobilization. As a result, Congress is considering proposals to expand unemployment insurance. The War Production Board is absorbed in plans for shifting industry quickly to peacetime production. The army has announced its general program of an orderly and equitable release of some men (the number to be determined later) after the fall of Germany. And industrial personnel men prepare for the inevitable tensions and problems that come with large-scale personnel dislocations.

Meanwhile, there is disagreement and uncertainty regarding the extent of postwar unemployment. Estimates have run as low as 1,000,000 and as high as 15,000,000 unemployed. These conflicting estimates are bewildering unless one realizes that the postwar period will have many phases. There will be a period after "V-E" day, another after "V-J" day, and then the swing into full peacetime economy. Even with the retention of a large armed force on sea, on land, and in the air; even with planned conversion of war industry to peacetime uses; even with the adoption of a most ambitious program of public works, there may still be 10,000,000 men and women faced with unemployment for some time. How much and how long are the questions that present the greatest challenge to American economy—business, labor, and government—since our existence as a nation.

Government officials have reported that the end of the war in Europe would mean a 35 per cent cutback in war production. In a recent issue of the *Survey of Current Business*, published by the Department of Commerce, S. Morris Livingston presents a series of estimates showing the effect upon our economy of a one-third reduction in the output of combat munitions. Such a reduction would be equivalent to 4,200,000 workers, or about 10 per cent of the total

nonagricultural working force. Approximately 2,000,000 additional men may be released from the armed forces. This makes a total of 6,200,000 persons who represent the potential increase in unemployment.

Not all of the youngsters, oldsters, and women who have temporarily joined the labor force as a war measure will probably withdraw. An additional 500,000 are expected to return to the farm or become self-employed. Unemployment will doubtless be avoided for 1,300,000 by reducing the number of hours of those working overtime. After allowing for the above factors, however, there would still remain about 3,400,000 persons who require jobs.

Mr. Livingston estimates that within six months 2,400,000 can be absorbed in the trade and service industries and in plants that require little reconversion because they have continued to make products similar to those produced in peacetime. On the basis of these estimates, the total increase in the number of unemployed would approximate 1,000,000. If these estimates prove to be correct, the magnitude of the problem of placing those laid off from war jobs will be much smaller, at the time of the termination of the war in Europe, than many persons have feared.

To achieve this relatively satisfactory state of affairs, however, it is important that policies be adopted that will speed the resumption of commercial production. Throughout his analysis, Mr. Livingston emphasizes the importance of expediting transitional adjustment. Thus, he points out that "the number actually given jobs in additional production for civilians would obviously depend on the delays encountered in converting productive facilities." Similarly, since this will be a regional problem, with surpluses of labor existing in some areas while scarcities prevail in others, the relative mobility of workers will be important.

The main problem of unemployment, of course, will arise when war production is virtually eliminated with the final termination of

hostilities with Japan. At that time we shall have almost complete demobilization and reconversion. The measures instituted during the months following the defeat of Germany, however, will substantially affect the magnitude of the unemployment problem in the later period. Such measures may also determine a pattern for business, labor, and government to follow in later months.

The significance of our social policy on the size of the total labor force, and consequently the unemployment residual, is indicated by the possibility that several million withdrawals from the labor market might occur if we have a program of government subsidiaries for expanded educational opportunities, increased old-age coverage, and higher benefits, and more liberal family allowances or income tax reductions for dependents making it possible for some women to return to the household who otherwise might not do so.

In any event there is a clear indication that the human factors that are a part of the reconversion period will be many and varied. The uncertainties as to continued use of government-owned facilities, the radical change in the type of labor force, the dilution of supervisory management, the application of "seniority" principle with "ability clauses," race tension, and veteran's preference are some of the issues that will torment the industrial personnel officers. Some steps can be taken at once to prepare for "V-E" day and "V-J" day tasks. Employment estimates can be made, personnel policies can be clarified, procedures for layoff and downgrading can be determined, jobs can be classified and evaluated.

The re-employment of war workers in industries producing civilian goods will call for training. There is some expectancy that many industries producing war goods will return to production that will utilize the single skills of many war workers. Many industries, and especially local plants of large industries which have shifted their operations during the war, may not return to the manufacture of prewar lines. A large segment of war workers desiring to

remain in industrial employment may have to undertake less skilled work, or relocate where a single skill may be in demand, or be re-trained in new skills needed by local industry.

It is important too that all who return to civilian employment be prepared for gainful occupations in agriculture, distributive or service trades, and self-employment. Possibly agriculture will absorb its lost workers more readily than any other field in the early stages of reconversion. In the field of the service trades, however, there is a crying need for trained workers. Automobiles, radios, washing machines, electrical and mechanical devices of all kinds, homes, stores, business buildings, railroads, and almost all such individual business equipment and properties are in dire need of maintenance and repair.

A reasonable expectation would be that in the postwar era the service trades would grow apace as has been the case since the First World War. War workers trained for the service trades might reasonably anticipate relatively permanent employment in such vocations. This would contribute immeasurably to social stability and economic productivity. Mass production and distribution to meet the demands of all Americans will increasingly put efficient distribution at a premium. Individual workers in the highly competitive distributive trades will need training to assure their ability to make an economically valuable contribution. Well-trained workers in the distributive trades may look to profitable continuity of employment in an expanding field for several years.

Many communities have long established adult and continuation educational programs conducted through the local public schools. These programs have been either locally financed in their entirety, or have been financed upon a basis of the community supplying at least fifty per cent of the funds under the George-Dean and Smith-Hughes Acts. More recently, training programs and facilities have been expanded under the federally financed Vocational Training

for War Production Workers, Rural War Production Training, and Engineering, Science, Management War Training programs. Experience of past years, coupled with more recent war worker training programs, places local community leadership in a position to appraise its own prospective situation intelligently.

According to the G. I. Bill of Rights every veteran with reasonably good schooling who went into service before he was 25 or who can show any interference with his education is entitled to a year in college. The Government will pay up to \$500 for his tuition and fees for the school year, and \$50 to \$75 a month for his living expenses. Longer service entitles him to as much as four years in college, studying straight through the calendar year, if he wishes, so as to get a full college course and two years of medicine, law, or graduate study in addition.

The cost of college and university education, then, is no problem, and the veteran need only decide what to study. He already has in sight the widest choice of courses the colleges have ever offered. Most of the colleges are shaping courses and programs to fit the needs of four groups of students from the armed forces. These groups are high-school graduates without college training; those who entered high school, but did not finish; college students; and college graduates. Some colleges will provide short refresher courses and others will invite veterans to take full-time work looking toward professional competence and certification.

Nearly 4,000,000 high-school graduates went into the army and navy immediately after graduating from high school or after working a while. The veteran in this group is as much as four years behind in his studies. But he can catch up. With sufficient length of service, he may equip himself in two to four years to be a radio engineer, a businessman, a doctor, or a lawyer. In some colleges, he can train for a skilled mechanic's job or a post in business in a year or less.

Much has been said about the "square peg in the round hole" as an indication of the need for better vocational guidance and placement. There is reason to believe that it will be one of the human factors that must be considered in the reconversion period. Much needs to be done toward getting ready to do this job properly. We shall need to use such psychological implements as are available but we cannot hope that aptitude tests and interviewing will be sufficient. Better information about specific jobs is badly needed. This calls for job analysis, job specifications, and techniques for appraisal of skills and temperament required. Then, too, we need more information about the occupational outlook in terms of community areas, types of industry, and seasonal variations.

Vocational guidance often must be done in terms of a particular community or area. General information about new developments in plastics, possibilities of airline freight, and machine-tool industries for the Orient does not offer specific help to the young man who must work out his life career in Tulsa, Oklahoma, or Altoona, Pennsylvania. Likewise, such general information is of no real help to the man or woman who is released from an ordnance plant or shipyard. Such persons need specific help as to appropriate job opportunities, training facilities that are available, and the resources of community, industry, or government that may be utilized at once.

The guidance and placement of men and women from the armed services will present some unusual and difficult situations. Some of the young men in the armed services never held a job before they went into the army or navy. They have had little or no understanding of business and industrial operations. Yet they had a varied and active service experience in which life has been lived intensely in some instances and very drably in other instances. The routine and, oftentimes, uninteresting demands of a business or industrial job may be irritating.

In the case of young men who have been serving as commissioned officers in the Air Corps, with pay and allowances far beyond what

they would have made in a civilian job, there will be other problems of adjustment which will affect their attitude toward the job and it may seriously affect their family situation. Life as first lieutenant in the Air Corps is far more interesting and it provides more income than the job usually held by a twenty-five-year-old in a business or industry. Men must be matched with jobs in terms of temperament, attitude, and experience pattern as well as in terms of work skills and abilities.

In the first step, vocational guidance must be concerned with the evaluation of vocational interests and goals in the light of possibilities for reaching such goals. Sometimes personnel or guidance officers must work toward changing these to more appropriate interests and goals. It must also be concerned with making men and women aware of the opportunities and requirements that are a part of the whole "world of work." Then, too, vocational guidance must be done with full recognition that the occupational outlook shifts from year to year and from community to community. Flexibility rather than specificity must be taken into account.

When Bell discusses the community in *Matching Youth and Jobs* he says:

One of the most striking of these facts is that the community is constantly changing. Specialists in occupational research are especially fond of two phrases—"fluid social matrix" and "changing occupational patterns." Besides having a pleasant professional ring, these phrases are packed with meaning for all the agencies involved in the occupational adjustment of the present and future generations of young workers. This social order of ours is a moving, inconstant fluid thing. And likewise the occupational distribution of the working population is subject to endless alteration and often unpredictable change. Thus, it is impossible for the progressive administrators of a social or economic program to take it for granted that yesterday's realities exist today or that today's realities will exist tomorrow. There are few eternal verities in the labor market.

It is not in the broad economic, industrial, and employment problems however that educators and sociologists must be chiefly con-

cerned. The millions of Americans whom we glibly refer to as the "working force" or the "armed services" are not just statistics. They are not simple cogs in a huge industrial or military machine. They are human beings, each with manifold personal, social, and vocational adjustments that must be made in terms of a peaceful society. Family problems, job problems, emotional, health, recreational, home, educational, and social problems—all these and many more will be bound up in the decisions that each one will have to make.

And whether he fought this war in Kansas City or Italy, in San Francisco or in Iceland, in Pittsburgh or in the Solomons, in Detroit or in India, his adjustment problems will be of about the same complexity. The American way of life puts a premium on the individual—on the "human factor"—and in the complexity of problems, tensions, and activities which will come with reconversion and demobilization, personnel officers must be ready to apply wisdom, understanding, and sympathy to the men and women who will be dislocated and in need of help.

CLASSROOM COMMUNIQUES

Conwell Dean Higgins

Introduction

An historian of the American Revolution might carefully consider and weigh the implications of the reactions of Colonial adolescents to that war. In considering the effect of the war upon the schools of that day, one might prefer the original impressions of school children to the statements of generals or members of the assemblies. The same may be true for the Civil War. In this report some observations of a very few adolescents on World War II are given. These statements indicate something of the effect of the war upon themselves, as pupils in the school and as family members. This glimpse of the pupils' reactions to World War II elicited from only a limited number of children can no more reveal this war's effect upon the nation's children than can a cursory examination of a sand grain reveal the extent and character of Miami Beach.

During the school year of 1943-1944, John W. Park, superintendent of schools in Albany, New York, appointed a War Records Committee. This group was charged with the task of collecting, organizing, and preserving material that may reveal the effect of the war upon the schools, as well as material that may indicate the extent of the war effort in the schools.

One particular phase of the committee's work was to determine possible behavior and personality adjustment on the part of the pupils. Each teacher in the system assisted in the work by answering a series of questions on pupil adjustment. This report deals entirely with the efforts of one teacher to learn how the war influenced the thought and work of pupils in two high-school biology classes. The pupils numbered fifty-one and ranged in age from fourteen to seventeen years. The questions presented to the pupils were concerned with (1) the child in school, (2) the child and personal restraint, (3) the child at work, and (4) the child and his friends.

There has been no revision or editing of the children's comments because a smoothing of expression or correction of grammatical construction might alter or obscure the pupil's responses.

The Child in School

The children were asked to describe any changes they may have observed in the content or presentation of subject matter and any changes in their attitude toward school.

Seventeen pupils noted little or no change in content or presentation of subject matter. One child remarked:

My teachers, I believe, still teach the same as they did ten years ago, there has been no effect on my school work, as far as I can see. The war is never brought up except, maybe, once in a while in Social Studies.

Thirty-four pupils specified instances in which class discussion or activities were related to the war. Social studies was mentioned with a greater frequency than any other subject. A typical reply follows:

We talked about the war in Social Studies, and the class gave more attention to the present war than to the ancient Romans. . . .

As an activity of a language class, one pupil related this fact:

We are sending German story books and pieces of literature to the German prisoners interned in America.

The content of the health classes was modified by the war as indicated by this assertion:

In Health class we discuss all the new drugs and medicines that have been used in this war.

That the war effort was used as an incentive, goad, or whip by at least one teacher was suggested by several comments. One statement was:

One teacher reminds us everytime we do not do our own work that we are loafing while our boys are fighting in distant lands.

Specific and minute illustrations of the practicality of subject matter may have dissolved the evident skepticism of the pupil who wrote:

School subjects and war: History is supposedly good for teaching us to be better citizens in the future, how to live peacefully without war. How? Tell me! In English, if we learn English grammar, we can be better soldiers, so it's said. French is supposedly useful in the Army. How? except in a very few branches—translators?

Such questions may well challenge teachers to carefully appraise their subject material before justifying content on the basis of use in particular situations.

Children's Attitude toward School

Several pupils (seven) made no comment on their attitude toward school, others (seven) stated their attitude was not affected by the war while a like number asserted that their schoolwork had suffered. One pupil explained his changed viewpoint in this wise:

My interest in school has definitely decreased because I have been used to doing more work in school but now it is left up to us to do more at home. And we find sometimes it is better to work and make the money and forget about school while the war is on.

Emotional unbalance may be suggested by the statement:

War movies and radio stories affect my thinking and I can't keep my mind on my school work because it's (the war) constantly on my mind.

Nearly sixty per cent of the pupils felt that they were giving more attention and had more interest in schoolwork because of this disaster that has come upon us.

The basis of increased interest in school may be a plexus of self-interest, relatives in the service, patriotism, and postwar opportunities. These varying motives are evident in these statements:

The war has changed my ideas about school considerably because now that there is a war, in a few years I may be able to go into the service and the knowledge gained in school will help in a great way for promotion.

. . . with two brothers in the armed services, it kind of gives you an urge to help somehow.

I liked school before the war. But now I don't care for it so much as I can go and find a job and earn good money. Then I think to myself, "What will I do after the war is won with just a little education?" So I am going to complete my education and then compare myself with a girl I know who left school.

The teacher of the two classes judged that the responses of the pupils reflected rather well the interest exhibited by the pupils in their schoolwork.

The Child and Personal Restraint

Of the fifty-one pupils, twenty-eight reported that war conditions had not been responsible for changes in their freedom. One terse comment was:

Still the same restrictions and discipline.

One child explained:

I don't go out even though I can, because I think I should help my mother as much as possible. My father is in the Service.

While the majority reported no change in restraints, sixteen declared that they were more free than formerly. Just one child said that the parents were too busy to give any thought to his actions.

That one parent avoided the "Thou shalt not . . ." injunction in extending the amount of freedom is suggested by this statement:

I am now able to go to the movies whenever I would like to, unless . . . I have gone once already that week.

Most of the responses indicated that the children felt their greater freedom was due to their becoming more mature, and not due to this current upheaval. This point of view is shown by the response:

I am less restrained. I am able to do more things that I want to. I have more clothes and money, not too much though.

Several children (seven) asserted that their activities had been

curbed. Reasons for less freedom were given by two pupils. One remarked:

I think my (free) hours have shortened because of more duties and more school work.

One pupil expressed his thoughts with telegraphic brevity:

Used to be my own boss, now bed at ten.

Viewed as a whole, the pupils experienced very little easing of parental restraints, suggesting that the parents of these children were not too drastically upset by the war.

The Child At Work

Pupils who worked outside of school totaled thirty-five. These individuals worked an average of seventeen hours per week and earned an average of \$9.20. That many of the job opportunities were out of line with conditions during the 1930's and due to the war was recognized by the pupil who wrote:

The war has given me more jobs outside. If the war should end tomorrow, I would have no job.

A statistical breakdown of hours, pay, and type of employment was not made.

The Child and His Friends

The pupils were asked, "Have you observed any changes in the behavior or emotional stability of your friends which may be explained by the war?"

Several (nine) replies were negative while two individuals noticed both favorable and unfavorable reactions on the part of their friends. One third of the responses (seventeen) noted that their friends' behavior or emotional stability had suffered as a result of the war. No specific cases were discussed by the pupils, only generalizations were made which are illustrated by the following:

Well, some of the girls and boys have changed a lot, not better but worse. I think the uniforms are mostly the reason.

Most boys about 15, 16, 17, adults, even large numbers of girls are unsettled, have no idea about the future. I, myself, am very undecided.

In contrast to the above replies, twenty-three pupils felt that their friends and acquaintances were becoming more serious and mature. In this instance, a variety of reasons were suggested for the change in outlook; these reasons included the desire to prepare for the armed services, the feeling of new responsibilities and consideration of the country's future, and loss of friends and relatives.

Yes, many boys I know have been working harder to get fit for the service.

... affected because they live in a free decent land and they sometimes wonder if it will stay clean and democratic and hope their children will not have to go to war."

Conclusion

In summarizing, the reactions of the boys and girls of the two classes are alone considered. Rash, indeed, would be the individual who attempted to characterize the effect of the war upon the pupils of even one school.

A brief consideration of the responses leads at once to the realization that the pupils' behavior and reaction was varied and contradictory. From the group's experience, one may resolve a few generalizations from the welter of diverse experience. It may be asserted that, as a group, the pupils worked harder in school, the pupils still experienced guidance from their parents, the children were wage earners, and the pupils' friends were more serious.

The children were crossing the tenuous span to adulthood and, in certain instances, gave evidence that they were observant travelers. A qualified social prognosis might be this: The majority of the children, taking in stride the confusing maze of present-day stimuli, may well mature into citizens of merit and responsibility.

BOOK REVIEWS

Current Conceptions of Democracy, by JOHN R. BEERY. New York:
Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University,
1943, 110 pages.

It seems to the reviewer that Beery's exploration of the meanings of democracy accepted by the members of a politically and socially oriented democracy is a most significant contribution to education. From Herbert Spencer to Alfred Zimmern the popular origin and practices of democratic feelings and practices and concepts have been recognized. But seldom if ever has any one gone beyond intuition and general observation to get at the facts, as the author has done.

Beery here reveals the major points of agreement and disagreement in the interpretations of ordinary people who use the word democracy. Having established an instrument—three alternative questionnaire forms—for ascertaining what people believe that democracy implies, he tested graduate students in education, businessmen, essayists, evangelists of democracy, cooperativists, and farmers. Unsuccessful efforts were made to get sufficient returns from labor leaders and from girl factory workers, but presumably the questionnaire form and the abstract nature of the sentences and ideas presented were too unfamiliar to them.

For those groups whose references were frequent enough to justify conclusions a happily surprising consensus of agreement was found.

"The large body of democratic theory on which the vast majority of the respondents are in essential agreement may be organized under the heads of respect for the individual, equality, reliance on intelligence and rational methods, liberty, faith in the common man as the source of power, and duties and obligations of the democratic citizen. The disagreements were especially prevalent in the economic area and in the matter of practical applications of general principles.

"... The existence of areas of disagreement implies the need for public discussion and consultation seeking to reconcile the opposing views. The existence of inconsistencies in the statements approved by a given respondent implies the desirability of emphasis on an organized, comprehensive, and consistent system of beliefs about democracy."

It is hoped that further research will follow the line here set out. Approvable indoctrination in democratic ideas and attitudes might well in-

clude the widespread use of these questionnaires among American youths and adults.

American Democracy and Secondary Education, by KENNETH D. NORBERG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 130 pages.

Norberg presents the results of "a study of some tendencies and conceptions of youth education in the United States." He explores first the backgrounds of the problem, historical and contemporary; next, the current innovations in the secondary school; then two chapters presenting the case for a subject curriculum, espoused by "essentialists" and the challenge of the "intellectualists," respectively; and finally, his own evaluations and tentative program for the education of youth.

For the most part, this wheat has been well threshed by educational philosophers and practitioners before Norberg's study was made. It would be too much to expect him to throw much new light on the problem.

Nevertheless, he has made a real contribution to a sound orientation. His scalpel exposes the cloistered character of some "progressive" proposals and practices as freely and effectively as it does that of "essentialists" and medievalists.

This dissertation was prepared under the sponsorship of the department of philosophy; it is not surprising that it deals with ideas. But it is regrettable that the writer gives little indication that he is familiar with actual practices of good high schools which in some aspects are so far in advance of the oft-quoted prophets of progressivism as to make his fears and reservations groundless.

Like science and technology, school processes also are carried on in concrete social settings that affect not only the immediate ends to which they are employed but also the methods by which these instruments are modified and improved (cf., page 99). In an empirical democracy, the school curriculum is so vivid that often neither philosophers nor teachers know it is going on; a very few alert parents glimpse it and attempt to control its excesses; youths themselves grasp much of its reality and significance, somewhat intuitively, but more by acceptance of the code of youth.

To these young people the problems of "curriculum" that worry Norberg and those philosophers he quotes are just jobs to do to get credits so

as to graduate—or at least stay in school. To youth, there are other goals of far more immediate and of far longer term importance!

The Condition of Man, by LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1944, x + 467 pages.

This is the third volume in Mumford's series on human nature and culture. The others are *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities*. A rich history of religions, philosophies, scientific and technical trends, conceptions of life, love and work, domestic and social practices, aesthetic works and theories, psychological theories, political theories and practices. Civilizations from the Greek era to our own are shown as a moving tapestry whose parts are marvelously interwoven and whose past practices are far from lost in the present. The philosophy underlying Mumford's approach is a doctrine of organic humanism. Mumford judges practices and theories in terms of their life-fulfilling or life-negating effect or possibility. Work and love which fulfill the individual through participation in the community (eventually the world community) are his standards. But the human personality itself is the highest of values to be achieved, and we must begin with this value in building a new world order.

Personal Aggressiveness and War, by E. F. M. DURBIN and JOHN BOWLBY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, 150 pages.

The theory expounded in this book develops as a result of the logical train of thought that war is organized fighting and fighting is a universal form of human behavior transcending the borders of humanity into types of mammals most closely related to the common ancestors of man and apes, and therefore the general causes of war are only to be found in the causes of fighting. Since fighting is not continuous in time but reverts to consequent periods of peaceful cooperation, the problem resolves itself into how this peaceful cooperation is to be preserved against the universal tendency it has to culminate in periods of war.

The causes of fighting are analyzed in their simpler forms in children and animals with the resulting deduction that the behavior of adults shows no improvement by comparison. In fact, recent world events are a clear manifestation that no group of animals could be more ruthless or aggressive than the adult members of the human race. The differences

between the aggression of primitive beings and adult men as suggested by the authors are that adult aggression is normally a group activity growing out of political organizations, economic classes, religious denominations, or nation states, coupled with the powers of imagination and reason which the adult brings to the service of the aggressive intent.

From the psychoanalytic point of view, the primary causes of adult aggression are identical with those of children and apes. There is no material change in character as the individual grows older. The aggressive child is controlled by some form of authority which produces further frustration, resulting in conflict in the child, which is the original source of aggressiveness in the adult. Characters are formed by a simple aggressiveness that has been controlled but not destroyed.

Displacement, the transference of fear, hatred, or love from the true historical object to the second object, serves the individual by frequently resolving the confusion and strain of an ambivalent relation to a safer object. Projection, on the other hand, consists in imagining that other individuals are really like our own unrecognized and unaccepted selves, a mechanism which superimposes our own character upon others. Such a behavior mechanism leads to a form of paranoia in which not only the real but also the imaginary moral judgments and legal restraints are strongly resented. Group life gives sanction to personal aggressiveness imbuing groups with destructive power, building up structures of intellectual reasoning, rationalizing impulses, and justifying hatred.

The specific and most generally considered causes of war are treated at greater length but along thought patterns as follows:

Capitalism as a cause of war is highly improbable since it is an historical type of system not more than three hundred years old.

Class conflict and economic reasons are possible causes of war since both are co-extensive in time with war, the ruthless acquisitiveness of nations representing the emergence at the group level of primitive individual behavior.

Nationalism cannot be considered a theory but merely as a behavioralistic generalization. It does not explain why groups become aggressive but presupposes that once a group is formed it will fight. The element of truth here is that war, since the triumph of aggressive impulses will always manifest itself in a group form, and, since the great group organization of the age is the nation state, can be very logically due to nationalism.

Mr. Durbin and Mr. Bowlby offer two possible solutions to the prob-

lem of how the prevention of war may be affected. The first and extremely challenging proposal is that human beings be changed. The second, that their aggressiveness be restrained, would seem to be far less elusive.

In their conclusion the authors maintain that war is endemic but not incurable as a disease of human society, and that the only possible protection against war is a strong organ of collective security.

Rehabilitation of the War Injured, a symposium by WILLIAM BROWN DOHERTY and DAGOBERT D. RUNES, ed. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943, 684 pages.

The National Council on Rehabilitation defines rehabilitation as "the restoration of the handicapped to the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, and economic usefulness of which they are capable." The fifty-three subjects discussed in this book by recognized authorities in neurology and psychiatry, reconstructive and plastic surgery, orthopedics, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, and vocational guidance consider primarily the restoration of the war injured to the fullest physical usefulness of which they are capable. This symposium can be highly recommended to physicians and surgeons and physical and occupational therapists who are interested in the medical aspects of rehabilitation.

The Craftsman Prepares to Teach, by DAVID F. JACKY and MELVIN L. BARLOW. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, 184 pages.

The skilled mechanic suddenly called upon to impart his know-how to a trade class wonders, a little fearfully, how to go about it. He may be directed to *The Craftsman Prepares to Teach* for help in planning his course; the principles of organization are so plainly put and so amply illustrated, in terms of shop subjects, that he may grasp them in private study. But the second and shorter section of the book, which undertakes to explain the techniques of classroom teaching and which is full of sound doctrine, is too heavily freighted with educational jargon to be intelligible to the mechanic and so will be useful only as a text in a teacher-training class.

A Conception of Authority, by KENNETH D. BENNE, Ph.D. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 227 pages.

All who are socially aware share with Dr. Benne his concern with the

great problem of our era: How authority and the relationships growing out of authority can be developed in order to benefit both the individual and the society in which he lives.

The author systematically reviews the literature of this subject and presents the thinking of scores of great and near-great sociologists, educators, psychotherapists, and philosophers in admirably objective fashion. Yet, he does not hesitate to say that the authoritarian patterns in our relationships must go if our society is to develop democratically; authority must be rooted in democratic method rather than in pressures created by individuals or self-interested groups.

The Counselor's Approach to the Home and *The Counselor's Interview with the Student*, by NORMAN FENTON. California: Stanford University Press, 1944, 32 and 36 pages.

The School Case Work Manuals I and II issued recently by Norman Fenton inject a practical note in the counselor's field. Pamphlets such as these emphasize the most important factor in guidance: The understanding of the individual, a factor often submerged in the pressures of daily counseling.

In *The Counselor's Approach to the Home*, procedures in developing satisfactory social history material are thoroughly analyzed and an outline for practical use is included. A sample case history designed to summarize material for use in treatment will preclude any tendency of counselors to make hasty judgments upon insufficient background material.

The Counselor's Interview with the Student is a valuable manual that presents not so much a new approach as it does a re-emphasis upon the philosophy that guidance counselors must retain as the integral factor in any school program. The student interview must: (1) consider the student problem from his viewpoint; (2) understand the student with a fullness of knowledge; and (3) help the student in self-interpretation and treatment of his problem.

Both manuals furnish selective bibliographies for the inquiring counselor. The pamphlets are practical without ignoring theory, reasonable in suggestive procedures for the busy counselor, and enlightening without being ponderous in material.